

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 444 970

SP 039 425

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TITLE Conceptions of Democratic Citizenship in Preservice Social Studies Teacher Education: A Case Study.
PUB DATE 1999-04-23
NOTE 45p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April 19-23, 1999).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *Citizenship Education; *Democracy; *Democratic Values; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Preservice Teacher Education; Prior Learning; *Social Studies; Student Teacher Attitudes; Student Teachers

ABSTRACT

Education for a democratic society has been a powerful, long-standing rationale for the entire public school curriculum, but the idea has special relevance for social studies education. This study used action research and qualitative case study to examine the extent to which notions of democratic citizenship developed in the personal theories of teaching held by five preservice social studies teachers during the final year of their teacher education program. In this case, rationale-building around conceptions of democratic citizenship was a dynamic and variable process predominantly influenced by prior beliefs, the formal teacher education program, and field placement contexts. The results raise questions about the possibilities for democratic projects in teacher education, the supports needed to facilitate such work, and the role beliefs play in the instructional decision making of beginning teachers. (Contains 60 references.) (Author/SM)

CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN
PRESERVICE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER EDUCATION:
A CASE STUDY

Paper prepared for presentation at the
American Educational Research Association
Annual Conference in Montreal, Canada, April, 1999

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Abstract

Education for a democratic society has been a powerful, long-standing rationale for the entire public school curriculum, but the idea has special relevance for social studies education. This study examined the extent to which notions of democratic citizenship developed in the personal theories of teaching held by five preservice social studies teachers during the final year of their teacher education program. In this case, rationale-building around conceptions of democratic citizenship was a dynamic and variable process predominantly influenced by prior beliefs, the formal teacher education program, and field placement contexts. The results raise questions about the possibilities for democratic projects in teacher education, the supports needed to facilitate such work, and the role beliefs play in the instructional decision-making of beginning teachers.

**CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN
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The relationship between democracy and public schooling has been an enduring theme in U.S. educational and social theory. Among the many charges that have been put before schools in this country, perhaps none have had such long-standing rhetorical appeal as has the responsibility of preparing the nation's young to inherit their role as citizens in a democratic polity. Tracing a lineage at least as far back as Thomas Jefferson, the idea of education for democracy has sustained educational policy proposals from advocates representing nearly every ideological orientation. Few resist marshalling the moral suasion that the grand rhetoric of democracy adds to arguments about the purposes of schooling.

In no curricular area has the talk of democracy been more strongly felt than in social studies. At least in principle, the field of social studies is bound together by the aim of democratic citizenship education. Though deep and persistent divisions exist over the exact meaning of this ideal, there is widespread agreement among social educators that preparing students to capably participate in democratic life provides the primary rationale for social studies in the modern school curriculum (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992).

Yet those endeared to the notion of social studies as a form of preparation for democratic citizenship have cause for concern. In most social studies classrooms, students rarely have the kinds of experiences that might give them practice in developing democratic habits of mind (Sizer, 1984; McNeil, 1986). For example, students are rarely asked to think critically about public issues (Newmann, 1988). Instead, they mostly memorize facts. They listen to the teacher. They are very seldom challenged to formulate their own original ideas (Goodlad, 1984). As a result, students find social studies content disconnected from their own interests and see little value in this part of their school day (Schug, Todd, and Beery, 1984).

Why has social studies practice done so poorly in upholding the aim of democratic citizenship? Of course, the answer to this question is multi-faceted and complex. This research

examined one little-explored explanation that could contribute to our understanding of this critical issue-- the manner in which beginning social studies teachers are prepared for professional practice. Specifically, I investigated the extent to which notions of democratic citizenship developed in the personal theories of teaching held by five preservice social studies teachers. The study examined these beginning teachers during the final two semesters of their teacher education program-- the methods semester and the student teaching semester.

One school of thought commonly expressed by observers of teacher education is that the liberal, progressive influence of programs that prepare beginning teachers is somehow "washed out" by forces at work in the daily practice of teachers in schools (see Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1981). For social studies, this sentiment translates into the idea that teacher education in social studies promotes grand ideals about democratic citizenship that do not hold up in the crucible of actual teaching practice. However, this idea has not been tested. In fact, very little is known about how beginning social studies teachers view the aim of democratic citizenship as they leave preservice programs (Adler, 1991; Armento, 1996).

Of course, the question is not only of interest in the field of social studies. If schools are to educate for democracy, the manner in which preservice teacher education helps beginning teachers to understand democracy, and what it might mean for their developing practice, is a concern for educators across the disciplines comprising the modern school curriculum. Looking beyond social studies exclusively, little research has been done on whether and how democracy comes to have meaning for beginning teachers. In a study of prospective elementary teachers, Ross and Yeager (1999) found that the conceptions of democracy held by students in a graduate curriculum course were predominantly characterized by unsophisticated and narrow ideas about the scope of democracy and how the term might relate to teaching. Though this study provides some insight into what democracy might mean to preservice teaching, how that construct became a part of their thinking and the extent to which these beginning teachers' views influenced their practice remains unexplored.

This project has its genesis in an earlier study I conducted on promoting critically reflective teaching among preservice social studies teachers (Dinkelman, 1999; 2000). Although conceptions of democratic citizenship were not the primary focus of that work, a surprising finding emerged in the course of investigation. The three preservice social studies teachers who participated in this year-long study revealed that their teaching identities were only marginally connected to social studies. That is, they viewed themselves as teachers, in a general sense, more than they viewed themselves as *social studies* teachers. Moreover, the idea of social studies as a form of democratic civic education, a strong focus of their teacher preparation program, never took root as an influential part of their personal theories of teaching. This finding adds an interesting twist to the problem of social studies teacher education for democratic citizenship. In this particular case, time in schools was not needed to dispel the democratic citizenship ideal, for such an ideal was not present in the first place. This research follows up on this concern through an in-depth, systematic examination of preservice social studies teachers during a formative period of their professional development. Three research questions framed this study:

- 1) How do preservice social studies teachers develop their understandings of social studies as a form of democratic civic education?
- 2) What meaning does democratic citizenship hold for preservice social studies teachers during the methods and student teaching semesters of their teacher preparation program?
- 3) How is any expressed commitment to democratic citizenship education reflected in the coursework and teaching practices of preservice social studies teachers?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two organizing sets of ideas form the theoretical basis for the research. First is a theory of best practice in social studies teaching and learning, a theory rooted in critical and developmental conceptions of democracy. These conceptions provide the direction, and in large part the substance, of the approach to teacher education featured in this study. Second is

a theory of the activity of teaching that points to the important role played by beliefs and conceptions in learning to teach. Here it is assumed that beliefs and conceptions of the field of social studies are integral features in the process of teacher change and practice. In this section, I describe these two theories.

The two semesters of the teacher preparation program under study were designed to promote democratic citizenship as the guiding rationale for instructional decision making in social studies. My approach was an attempt to enhance the students' ability and disposition for critical reflection about their work as social studies teachers. Essential to this task was challenging them to consider the theoretical foundations of the field, under the assumption that curriculum decision making should be grounded in a defensible rationale for the field. Readings, class discussions, and supervisory conferences presented democratic education as a guiding ideal for the entire school curriculum in general and of special significance as a rationale for social studies in particular. Mainstream social studies foundations work, situated in the reflective inquiry tradition (Barr, Barth, and Shermis, 1978) and reflecting emphases on decision making (Engle and Ochoa, 1988) and rational deliberation on public issues (Oliver and Shaver, 1966), served as a starting point. However, more pointedly critical and expansive theories of democratic education also were included.

In moving beyond mainstream rationales, students were asked to reconsider conventional notions of democracy that are mainly concerned with electoral politics and classical liberal conceptions of the autonomous individual, what Westbrook (1996) calls "neohamiltonian democracy." To push the boundaries beyond those of mainstream conceptions of democracy, course readings and discussions also raised attention to social reconstructionist approaches to education, (Counts, 1932; Brameld, 1956), with their emphasis on an explicit vision of social justice, a considered response to immediate crises of democracy in present society, and the value of social criticism (Stanley, 1992). Going still further, a Deweyan conception of democracy was advanced. In Dewey's developmental sense of the term, democracy refers to something more than the structure of a political system. Rather, democracy is a far-reaching ethical ideal

that has implications for the wide sweep of social institutions. He refers to democracy as "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (p. 87). In its moral and ideal sense, he continues, a democratic social arrangement requires "that a social return be demanded from all and that opportunity for development of distinctive capacities be afforded all" (p. 122). Against the ideas of the mainstream social studies decision-making camp, through the arguments of social reconstructionists, and toward Dewey's more expansive, social and developmental articulation of democracy, students were asked to critically examine their own ideas of democratic citizenship education. Over the two semesters, students were asked to struggle with these "advanced ideas" (Parker, 1996b) about democracy and reflect on the ways in which they might serve as basis for making decisions about social studies curriculum and instruction.

When teachers incorporate these notions of democracy into their personal theories of teaching, reflection on instructional practice takes on critical dimensions. Critical democratic theory challenges teachers to consider features of their own particular situations in light of the broader social, historical, and ethical dimensions of teaching. They are encouraged to think about how the choices they make as teachers contribute to or obstruct the realization of a more democratic society (Zeichner & Liston, 1987; Beyer & Liston, 1996). Hence teachers must become "curriculum-builders" (Adler & Goodman, 1986) who understand teaching as more than a matter of technical proficiency. Teaching for democracy is seen as a partisan, ethical act demanding critical reflection. Such practice requires careful deliberation about the interests and needs of their students, the social conditions surrounding their work, and the end-view of enhancing democracy. Accepting this view, preservice teacher education becomes a reform-oriented intervention in the beginning professional socialization process intended to counter increasingly prevalent patterns of deskilling, routinization, and mechanistic approaches to curriculum (Apple, 1990).

Given this theoretical orientation, the actual instructional methods employed across the two semesters were consistent with what Cochran-Smith (1991) has described as the "cognitive

dissonance" model of teacher education. Readings, class discussions, and supervisory conferences were intended to disrupt conventional notions of practice in social studies classrooms in order to promote a re-examination in light of a more expansive and critical sense of democracy. Students were given an opportunity to critically examine their ideas about social studies teaching and learning, and to shape their own views about them. Critical discourse-- discourse characterized by open-minded, reasonable, and penetrating thinking-- became an important aspect, and objective, of the two semesters under study.

At the end of the two semesters, my hope was that critical dialogue on the issues raised during methods and student teaching would leave these preservice teachers with a four-part foundation upon which to build their identities as teachers:

1. the beginnings of an operational rationale for social studies grounded in consideration of critical conceptions of democratic education
2. an understanding of what teachers would do in their classrooms, schools, and communities to deliver on that rationale
3. an awareness of the difficulties they would encounter as reform agents
4. a sense of where to turn for support as they attempted to overcome these difficulties.

If these outcomes could be met, the hope was that these preservice teachers would be positioned to counter the tide of conformity in social studies practice and to resist the teacher-centered, barrage of worksheets, video upon video, and lecture/exam pattern of practice, so firmly established in many social studies classrooms (Armento, 1996; Schug, Todd, & Berry, 1984).

This view of social studies, rooted in critical and developmental notions of democracy, accounts for the approach to teacher education featured in this study. The research finds a different sort of theoretical basis in a set of assumptions about the role of belief and conceptions in learning to teach and the teacher change process. As Richardson (1996) points out, there has been a marked shift on research in teacher education over the last few decades as interest has

turned toward the ways in which beliefs (and related constructs) influence the teacher change process. In part, this change in emphasis has been sparked by a growing interest among educational researchers in the hermeneutic and naturalistic research traditions and their stress on the complex relationships among teachers' frames of reference and their actions. Of late, case studies of the teacher socialization process have become one of the most prevalent types of teacher education research. The shift from process-product research designs to more interpretive modes of inquiry has been sparked by increasing acceptance of the simple idea that context counts (see Zeichner, 1999). One accepted feature of the teaching and learning context is the set of beliefs and conceptions teachers hold concerning their work.

This research coheres with this trend toward attempts at understanding the beliefs and intentions that underlie teaching practices. In this study, beliefs are defined in part in the widely accepted sense the term-- as "psychologically held understandings, premises, or propositions about the world that are felt to be true" (Richardson, 1996, p. 103). However, drawing on recent scholarship that suggests the interactive nature of beliefs and actions (e.g. Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Ross, 1987), the intention was to go beyond self-reported statements of ideology and attitude and to connect propositions about education to the activity of teaching and learning to teach. In this sense, beliefs are assumed to have a vitality that influences teacher decision-making. Beliefs are assumed to be an important part of the personal practical knowledge systems that teachers use in instructional decision-making (Elbaz, 1983; Clandinin and Connelly, 1987). Thus an attempt to introduce democratic citizenship as a prominent belief cluster in the personal (Handal and Lauvas, 1987) of beginning teachers is viewed as a simultaneous attempt to influence their developing practices.

As used here, conceptions are nearly synonymous with beliefs. The distinction lies in the degree of interrelationship with practice. Conceptions are distinct from beliefs in that they may exist as mental understandings on the part of the study participants without necessarily influencing their practices. This distinction is important for this research because the aim was to examine the extent to which conceptions of democratic citizenship become more than ideas

that beginning teachers understood and could articulate. The question moved the inquiry towards the manner in which views of democracy influenced decisions about what and how to teach. Furthermore, it is held that both beliefs and conceptions are brought to the teacher education situation by students and are amenable to change (Calderhead, 1988), though the degree of amenability is a matter of long-standing debate in the teacher education research community. The research is predicated on the notion that understanding the complexities of beliefs and conceptions held by preservice teachers may contribute to more effective efforts to influence teacher development.

METHODOLOGY

Recent reviews of research on the preparation of social studies teachers have drawn attention to the lack of in-depth, case study investigations of teacher education programs and their effects (Banks & Parker, 1990; Adler, 1991; Armento, 1996). There are ample survey and demographic data on the concerns and characteristics of social studies teachers (Stake & Easley, 1978; Russell & Morrow, 1986; Nelson & Drake, 1994; Anderson et al., 1997; Vinson, 1998). Yet what teachers, either beginning or experienced, say or report about social studies provides only a limited account of their practice. To fully understand what democratic citizenship means to social studies teachers, their words must be interpreted in the context of their own teaching situations.

Accordingly, the methodological orientation of this research is fixed by two research approaches-- qualitative case study and action research. Qualitative case study yields an in-depth analysis of a limited number of subjects, who together comprise the case in question, in their natural setting (Stake, 1995). This method enabled me to give due attention to the broad range of personal and situational factors influencing the five participants.

As well, as a Methods class instructor and university supervisor of field experiences, my own practice as a teacher educator provided a significant portion of the setting in which the study was conducted. Action research is defined as intentional, systematic inquiry by practitioners into their own practice (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1982). According to this definition,

this proposed research is an intentional, systematic inquiry into my own work with preservice social studies teachers in helping them incorporate notions of democratic citizenship in their developing theories of teaching and learning social studies. In naming this study action research, I mean to draw attention to the fact that both my work and the beliefs of the study participants were objects of study. While this research yielded considerable insight into how my beliefs about effective teacher education were influenced, this paper reports on a different concern. Here my use of action research produced knowledge about these five beginning social studies teachers and how they thought about the field. This aspect of the research is the focus in this report.

My deep involvement in shaping the context in which this study took place meant that my experience in this research had two facets-- as a qualitative field researcher and as a practicing teacher educator. The manner in which the study unfolded, the data I found relevant, and the conclusions I drew were influenced by these two dimensions. No efforts were made to keep them separate. Indeed, I believe my dual positioning as a researcher and teacher educator were complementary and enhanced the quality of this study. This research merges practical inquiry with formal research, an idea that is gaining interest in the educational research community (Richardson, 1994).

Five volunteer study participants, enrolled in the secondary certification program at a major Midwestern research university, were randomly selected from my social studies methods course in the fall term of 1997. Martin was a 25 year-old multiracial student, raised in the suburban Midwest US, who enrolled in the teacher certification program after receiving his Bachelors degree in History from a nearby institution. Lindsey, also from the suburban Midwest, was a 22 year old Euro-American female finishing up an undergraduate dual degree in History and English while seeking certification in social studies. Pat was a 22 year-old woman, from the suburban East Coast, Asian-American, and an undergraduate History major. Grant was a 24 year-old Euro-American student, the product of a working class and urban upbringing, and an undergraduate social studies major. Finally, Stacey was a 22 years old

woman, raised in the suburban Midwest, Asian-American, and a History major. The experiences of these five preservice students during the methods semester served as the basis of the investigation for the first half of the study. The second half of the study addressed the study participants' experiences during their student teaching field placements, in the spring term of 1998.

A variety of data were collected, drawn mainly from three sources. The first of these was a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with case study participants throughout the two semesters under study. The resulting twenty-five interviews provided a rich source of data regarding their developing perspectives about social studies, identities as teachers, and conceptions of democratic citizenship. The second primary source of data came from my observations of the study participants' in-class work during the methods semester, and teaching performance and return-to-campus seminar participation during the student teaching semester. Field notes generated from these observations included both descriptive and reflective material (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) tied to direct observations. The third main data source was the assignments and other written work (e.g. lesson plans and personal correspondence) produced by participants over the course of the two semesters.

Data analysis was guided by the naturalistic research paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Emergent themes and topics were identified from the data as they were collected, coded, and frequently reviewed during the two semesters and the following summer. General concepts related to democratic citizenship education oriented the initial analysis. These concepts underwent substantial revision as patterns and themes were derived inductively from subsequent participant responses and other data. Major coding categories are represented in Table One.

TABLE ONE—CODING CATEGORIES

democratic citizenship-- how to teach
democratic citizenship-- what to teach
nature of social studies
reform orientation--critical thinking
reform-orientation-schooling and teaching
nature of teaching
methods class influence-- on rationale
methods class influence-- on practice
field influence-- on rationale
field influence-- on practice
curriculum builder
social reconstruction

Study participants collaborated for "member checks" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 314-316) of tentative hypotheses and conclusions, and their responses were carefully considered in the analysis.

FINDINGS

These preservice teachers internalized notions of democratic citizenship in markedly different degrees. Martin articulated a sophisticated understanding of democratic education and its importance to his sense of mission. Furthermore, he pointed to the ways in which this understanding influenced his practice. Observations of his teaching corroborated his account. Grant also appeared to embrace democratic teaching ideals, but struggled to enact these ideals in practice. Significantly, though this year-long struggle was challenging, it did not dampen his commitment to what he saw as democracy-inspired reform teaching. The three other participants—Lindsey, Pat, and Stacey-- indicated far less enthusiasm for democratic education,

in part because they had difficulty constructing working definitions of the theory, and in part because of issues related to their field placements. In this section, I provide a brief account of each study participant, paying particular attention to their initial conceptions of democratic citizenship at the start of the methods semester, any development in these conceptions over the course of the two semesters, and the extent to which these conceptions were reflected in the curricular and instructional decisions they made during as methods students and student teachers.

Martin

When Martin came to methods class, he already had a fairly sophisticated sense of what he wanted to accomplish as a social studies teacher. He spoke and wrote of his passion for history, noting how history can encourage students to "be an active part in defining the world around them and give them a framework for an ongoing struggle to understand and challenge society, and that can be very empowering" (assignment, 9-29-97). While many of his fellow history majors in methods made reference to merely making history "relevant" and "exciting," Martin looked at history as a discipline that prepares student to participate "intelligently in our evolving and always frustrating democracy." Martin viewed teaching as a proactive force for influencing the future shape of society. At the start of the semester, when asked about whether schools should produce a new social order, he replied, "I guess I'm going to throw caution to the wind and just say my gut reaction, which is—I think that's the purpose" (interview, 9-11-97).

At the start of the study, democratic citizenship education was not a phrase that figured heavily into his thinking about his aims as a teacher, but he already had beliefs about teaching that suggested some congruence with the various conceptualizations of democratic education presented in methods class. For example, he stressed that history is always controversial, subject to interpretation, and that students should be encouraged to participate in making sense of various accounts. He spoke of a free-flow of ideas, critical thinking, and analysis of the ethical problems posed by the decisions faced by those in the past. Martin spoke of the

classroom he hoped to create "as a microcosm of that democratic appeal or democratic reality that I'm trying to get them in turn to promote" (interview, 9-11-97).

Martin's ability to articulate his beliefs about the relationship between teaching history and democracy set him apart from his peers in this study (and in the rest of the methods class). He explained he was deeply interested in theoretical ideas about democracy and its relationship to teaching social studies, and he hoped the next two semesters would help him develop his thinking about how these ideas can be translated into real classroom practices. He looked to methods class for assistance in shaping a clearer, more articulated rationale for his practice.

His experience in methods class appeared to have met his hopes. The philosophical component of methods—the emphasis on democracy and education—was helpful to Martin in ways that it was not for most of his fellow class members. At the end of the semester, he credited the course with "giving myself a better sense of clarity with the sense of purpose that already existed, but applying it toward teaching, specifically into the classroom, bringing that into the classroom and having it as sort of a platform or foundation you can stand on... That to me has a great deal of meaning" (interview, 1-25-98). Methods helped him to draw connections between his now-refined rationale for the field and his professional practice: "I think it is inherent in the ways I want to structure the classroom, when I'm talking about trying to focus on respectful and constructive debate, when I talk about wanting to encourage and focus on critical thinking, when I talk about wanting to discuss values issues, I think all those play directly into the idea of democratic education and democratic citizenship" (interview 11-7-1997).

Importantly, Martin's words were supported by his curriculum-building attempts during the course. His final unit plan, for example, was a study of the US Civil War constructed around six themes: power, autonomy, authority, self-determination, social responsibility, and freedom. He justified both the content of this unit and its many student-centered activities by explaining that "[s]ocial studies should highlight and address issues of ethical importance and

be oriented toward progressive social change; it should help develop habits of mind that have the confidence, competence and necessity to grapple with this aim" (assignment, 12-6-1997).

The contributions of the methods semester to Martin's developing beliefs about teaching social studies—the refinement of the ideas about democratic citizenship, and the connections he made between rationale and practice—continued in the student teaching semester. Martin was placed in a working class, predominantly African-American high school, teaching in a ninth grade Global Issues class and a senior-level Government class. There he faced the typical stresses and pressures of learning to teach in one's first classroom, including time pressures, classroom management concerns, bureaucratic frustrations, and assuming the challenge to assume a teacher's authority. Yet, throughout the semester, Martin did not allow these concerns to drown out his efforts to refine his sense of mission. On the contrary, Martin's teaching consistently reflected the ideas about democracy and education that he had expressed at the end of the methods semester.

His principled practice was reflected in his unwillingness to teach from the text. He believed that standard drill-and-fill teaching methods, commonplace in classrooms he had seen during his field experiences, did not develop the critical capacities of students he understood as essential to a democracy. Thus, he took it upon himself to create curriculum that was more consistent with his democratic rationale for teaching. One week-long activity in his Global Issues course was a role-play in which students were placed in groups that represented different socio-economic classes. With Martin acting as Governor, the students were presented with a radical income-tax proposal that would redistribute wealth from the state's richest to poorest citizens. Martin structured the interaction within and among groups to encourage a mutual sharing of ideas and perspective-taking. Most significantly, he was able to connect both the content and methods of this plan to his larger rationale as a social studies teacher, "My hope is that this unit will foster a greater understanding of how social class works to shape people's views and prejudices about the poor... Understanding *why* we may have some of the perceptions we do about people from different classes (especially the poor) is, in my view, very

important. This particularly true if we're struggling with issues like equality and fundamental worth of individuals as democratic citizens" (observation notes, 3-30-98, emphasis in original). In the final interview of the study, he returned to this activity as an example of his curriculum work that reflected his mission: "I thought it directly tied into the issue of democratic citizenship because it was helping the students see or reexamine society in a new way... So that's why I think that lesson was directly connected to my mission" (interview 5-11-1999).

By the end of the student teaching semester, Martin had become more sure of himself in front of the classroom. As he began to master the initial challenges posed by student teaching, he found even greater opportunities to reflect on his sense of mission, even if such reflection was mostly theoretical and seemingly one step removed from the practical demands of the classroom. Martin was convinced of the value of developing a defensible rationale for social studies. In a journal assignment designed around a book chapter by Parker (1996a), Martin asked, "How can we work toward a more inclusive, participatory democracy without a more unified vision of what role the school should play in this endeavor?... To move toward a more radical kind of democracy—the kind that Dewey seems to envision—will take a shift of both vision and practice" (assignment, 4-21-1998). At the end of his experience, he noted his vision of his role as a social studies teacher had not significantly changed, but his commitment to that vision had deepened and his conception of democracy, though still vague at times, had expanded to include Deweyan ideas. He explained:

I almost want to say there's a more philosophical side to democracy, about the way people are relating to each other, the level of interaction between people, the way that they live together in their communities, in their states, in their countries. It's more than just about the machinery of democratic politics that we see on the NBC Nightly News or hear about in primaries every four years. But I'm still kind of vague... The most important thing is to recognize that our notion of democracy could be something broader, could be something larger than what we see on a day-to-day basis now. And I think it's important to give students that, or to expose them to that possibility, and hopefully with more thought on my part I can develop a clearer picture of it. (interview 5-11-98)

Here and elsewhere, Martin indicates his commitment to democratic education as a mainstay of his beliefs about the purpose of social studies and his role as a teacher of social studies. To

some extent, he brought these conceptions with him to methods class. The two semesters appeared to have helped him to refine these views, to give a name to them, and, more significantly, to make the connection between his sense of mission and his work as a social studies teacher.

Grant

Grant began the study with only a vague sense of a rationale for teaching social studies. His purposes as a teacher were not so much defined by the field but more to general notions of the kind of teacher he wanted to become. In the initial interview, he talked about the poor model of teaching he observed throughout his own secondary experience in a working class high school. As he thought back to his high school days, he recalled that even the teachers with the best reputations were only of use to him now for their examples of the kinds of teaching practices that he did *not* wish to emulate. He was going to be a teacher who cared about his students and could make history interesting. He summed up his aim as a social studies teacher, "Just to know that I make a difference. To feel that feeling, to know that I'm important, to know that I enjoy what I'm doing" (interview, 9-10-97). Grant saw himself more as a teacher in general than a social studies teacher. His interest was in making a difference in his students' lives, something that could be done in any discipline. He chose history because he loved the subject and had accumulated credits in this area. At this early point in the study, Grant could not recall having ever been exposed to the idea of democracy as a foundation for schooling or social studies.

As the methods semester proceeded, Grant was intrigued by the emphasis on democratic citizenship education as a foundation for the field. He found that readings such as Beane and Apple (1995) and Engle and Ochoa (1988) introduced terms that seemed to match what he already understood as good teaching. In effect, good teaching and democratic education took on the same meaning for Grant. He noted, "I think because I didn't have a clear notion of what democratic citizenship was, even during the first interview, that there has been a decent amount of progression towards that....The readings and the thinking about it and the doing it have

helped me go a little farther. Some of the things I do I don't think of them as, boy, this is good democratic teaching. I think of it as good teaching" (interview 11-5-97). Here he also evidences his growing ability to interpret his initial attempts at teaching (in the practicum) as reflections of his developing sense of purpose.

In addition, Grant used class assignments to develop beliefs about teaching that emphasized making an impact not just on individual students, but on society as well. In a journal reaction to a short article by Butchart (1994), he wrote, "As a future educator, I do not want to just teach toleration or -ism reduction. This article speaks to the framework of democratic education as the root of true multicultural education... The article pushes us to give students the skills and information needed to build a better society rather than being tolerant in the one we have now" (assignment, 12-1-97). Here Grant demonstrates a social reconstructionist perspective of what it might mean to educate for democracy.

As he moved into the student teaching semester, the progress Grant had made in naming and shaping his beliefs around notions of democratic education took a sort of paradoxical turn-- in some ways the ideal became less central in his thinking and in some ways it became more. Like Martin, the overwhelming concerns of his first teaching assignment meant that reflection on a broad rationale for his work became a much lower priority than it had been the semester before. His placement was at a racially diverse, predominantly working class high school teaching 11th and 12th grade Psychology and 9th grade Geography. In this setting, Grant immediately found his developing vision of best practice at odds with his cooperating teacher's views. Grant described his cooperating teacher's traditional, worksheet, knowledge-transmission approach to teaching as antithetical to the kind of teacher he hoped to become. As a result, Grant felt on his own at school.

Yet his isolation did not lead to a scaling back of his idealism. His reports about his own teaching and my observations of his classroom performance indicated that he maintained his reform-oriented commitment to instruction. As he did so, Grant experienced occasional successes in encouraging students to think for themselves, engage in discussions, and raise

what he saw as important questions. In turn, these successes gave him a valuable opportunity to convert what had been powerful conceptions and ideas about practice into beliefs, into notions that now were connected to his work as a teacher. As he explained,

I now have five real classrooms to see democratic education and bad teaching take place. By comparing the two I now have a renewed sense of what I should be doing. The practical actual implementation is the hardest aspect of democratic education and by taking the philosophy and doing something with it, I feel more dedicated now than I did six months ago when I first read about it in methods.
(interview, 3-18-1998)

Not all that Grant did in the classroom worked as he hoped. There were numerous lessons that did not go as planned, and these lessons often led to his frustration with my attempts to help him think through the theoretical foundations of his teaching.

Significantly, the frustrations Grant felt during the semester did not diminish his sense of the value of connecting aims with practice. He believed democratic education was synonymous with good teaching. He wanted to excel at good teaching, and in his mind, this meant he was also a democratic educator—someone who pushes students in the classroom to think about important ideas. His student teaching experience had not diminished his desire to pursue a reformist approach to pedagogy. Though Grant saw democratic education as a constellation of ideas resting at the core of his beliefs about good teaching, his data set did not yield a clear articulation of the conception of democracy that informed these beliefs. As well, his beliefs about teaching were not connected to the field of social studies. Social studies just happened to be the vehicle for his delivery of good teaching. In reflecting on the idea of democratic education, Grant noted, "I think that when I look at what I'm doing as a teacher, those ideals are at the core of what I'm trying to do. Even though, at some times, everything didn't come out as clear, and I need more experience, I'll still work to do that" (interview, 5-12-1998). For Grant, the democratic citizenship push of the two semesters gave him a hazy, general, but still powerful, framework he could use to think about his developing skills as a teacher. Unlike Martin, a more specific conception of democracy did not develop for Grant during these two semesters. Yet he did find some direction as a beginning teacher in the idea.

Lindsey

Lindsey's case can be grouped with the remaining two cases and set apart from the experiences of Martin and Grant. Where Martin found the idea of democratic citizenship education richly powerful in shaping his identity as a social studies teacher, and Grant indicated some developing beliefs about the idea, Lindsey made few connections between her growing sense of professional practice and notions of democratic education. When she began the study, there was nothing in her work for methods or study participation to indicate her disinclination to find reflection on rationale-building useful, except for her aversion to classifying and naming phenomena-- she noted, "I kind of have a hard time with labels" (interview, 9-11-1997). After a week in Methods, she spoke of her mission as a history teacher in terms of making history "real," having students "make connections" with the past, and developing a desire in students "... to make a difference in whatever they choose to be" (assignment, 9-15-97). In her own upper-middle class, suburban, and largely Euro-American high school experience, she was impressed by the work of her history teachers, and she hoped to carry on their example in less privileged schools after she had earned her certification. Democratic education was not a term that was discussed in prior coursework, and she admitted not ever really having given much thought to social studies as a field. To her, democratic citizenship meant questioning the social world and assuming responsibility in the world beyond oneself. She felt teachers should promote democratic citizenship, but given her difficulty with labels, she was not certain of what that might entail, where it should lead, and how such activity mapped onto the rest of their professional responsibilities.

Lindsey's early work in methods indicated an initial interest in notions of democratic citizenship education. For example, assigned to make a first formal attempt at constructing her rationale for history teaching, she wrote of how she was moving away from simply passing on her love for the subject to others, and moving more visionary aims. She still emphasized the idea of connecting history to the lives of her students outside of school, but also added, "If students are to become active, empowered citizens, the fountain (sic) can be laid by

empowering them and their ideas in a social studies class" (assignment, 9-29-1999). In this same assignment, she argued that social studies teachers have an obligation "to look at the type of citizen we want for our country and define our classes accordingly." To this end, her curriculum-building efforts emphasized interactive methods, such as role-playing and class discussions, and student decision-making.

Lindsey continued throughout the semester to produce work for methods that stressed active student engagement in thinking about historical content. However, her feeling that democratic citizenship had limited relevance soon became apparent. The second month of methods marked an important turning-point, signaled by the start of her practicum placement, which would become her student teaching placement the following semester. This working class high school was vastly different from the high school she attended. She used the term "culture shock" to describe her encounter with the school. For the two and a half months she spent at in this practicum, she began to see methods as promoting a vision of teaching that was too idealistic, that failed to take account of different school contexts.

Her time in this school complicated what had been fairly clear ideas about what constituted good teaching. At first blush, Lindsey felt her cooperating teacher was not modeling effective practice, relying upon worksheets, orderly discipline, and knowledge transmission. Initially, Lindsey was disturbed that her cooperating teacher, a 30+ year veteran of this school, rarely took work home, did not write out lesson plans, and had students grade homework in class. However, Lindsey also saw that her cooperating teacher was positively impacting the lives of her students in other, less-academic ways. Lindsey's sense of purpose was thrown into disequilibrium, and she doubted whether the ideas discussed in methods class (including democratic citizenship) applied to high schools such as the one where she was now teaching. She explained, "I feel like methods has been idealistic... I feel like my experience in the schools is negating some of these other ideas" (interview, 11-5-1999). At this point, her confusion did not mean rejection of what she was learning in methods. She continued, "I'm

definitely not giving up on the idea that you could be in that position and be reform-oriented, but I don't know yet."

The confusion she felt during practicum was not stabilized during the student teaching semester. If anything, her beliefs about teaching only became more unsettled as the extent of her school involvement increased during the student teaching semester. Her identity as a social studies teacher and different conceptions of democracy were far from her mind. She explained:

I'm overwhelmed almost every day that I am in the high school, the stories I'm hearing and the things I'm seeing... Right now, I am just focusing on my trying to get an understanding of like these kids and their stories, and make sense of their lives being so different from mine.... I haven't thought much about social studies since I started this semester, just because the things I'm seeing there, going on there are just... I'm having a hard time coming to terms. (interview, 1-19-1998).

At this point, she described her thinking about a rationale for social studies as "on hold." She expressed her satisfaction that methods helped her define a basis for a rationale, but she doubted this experience would help her develop that rationale. Instead, she felt the issues she was sorting out had little to do with social studies, and much more to do with her identity as a teacher in general. She did not accept the idea that her rationale as a social studies had a great deal to do with how she thought about the very questions she found most troubling as she attempted to make sense of her field experiences.

Across the student teaching semester, ideas of democratic citizenship education were of little concern to her. Around the mid-point of the semester, she finally felt as if she had gotten over the shock of being at this school; this allowed her to return some of her focus to more theoretical issues of her rationale for teaching. She described passing the mid-point as a "kind of turning the corner in terms of what I'm doing in student teaching" (interview, 3-12-1998). With this turning, she saw that the ideas she had been introduced to in her teacher education courses (including methods) had provided her with "some solid ground to stand on" in thinking about her mission, and she was grateful she had that background to return to, "but I wish it had incorporated a little bit more realistic picture of what the high schools are like"

(interview, 3-12-1998). At this mid-point, she approached her cooperating teacher and asked for more freedom to try different teaching strategies. Her cooperating teacher agreed.

Lindsey used this freedom to attempt lesson ideas that were more in keeping with the sense of purpose she had begun to formulate prior to student teaching. She wanted to help her students "to look at their peers differently, to be able to look at things that happened in history differently, to not generalize so much, to evaluate situations for what they are" (interview, 5-8-1998). Yet this sense of purpose was not tied to social studies, nor was this sense of purpose built around notions of democratic citizenship or democratic education. Lindsey explained that her semester of teaching social studies served to further separate her teaching identity from the field of social studies, rather than to bring the two into greater alignment. She also noted that she had a hazy notion of what democratic education entailed.

In the turmoil of the semester, the emphasis on democracy as a foundation for practice was unproductive. She explained, "I don't think it needs to be the end-all, huge driving force... It was a good idea with a lot of merit that I found very attractive, was interested in, and then it was overkill" (interview, 5-8-1998). Her experience had left her feeling that the philosophical questions posed by democratic education were ill-timed given her particular situation as a student teacher. She described her thinking about these questions:

I'm pretty much at where I was in methods, maybe even a little bit less. But I think a lot of that was just the adjustment time. You know, I was thrown in, and I don't feel like I was very well-prepared to start student teaching and have three of my own classes, full-time. And I spent so much time trying to keep my head above water. I hope that I do still think it's something that is important. It was difficult for me to balance everything this semester, and that kind of was something that wasn't a big priority, but I do hope still that after, you know, after a year or two, when I'm not worrying about what I'm going to teach every day, when I have two years worth of lessons, and I have classroom management down, and I have those type of issues that aren't quite as pressing, that that's something that I do feel like will still be important to me. (interview, 5-8-1998)

Pat

Pat's case fits in the same general category as Lindsey's in terms of the limited extent to which ideas of democratic citizenship education influenced her beliefs about teaching. Though

similar in the end result, Pat's experiences were categorically distinct from Lindsey's in terms of the routes they took to arrive in the same place. For Pat, democratic citizenship education was a foreign concept when it was introduced in methods and largely remained so until the end of student teaching. This is not to suggest that Pat witnessed no development in her personal theory of teaching. She found considerable value in the emphasis on rationale-building throughout both semesters. However, what generally is regarded as the reason for social studies in the modern school curriculum—preparation for democratic citizenship—was an elusive idea for Pat and never took root in the beliefs she developed about her work as a teacher.

At the start of the semester, she explained why she was seeking certification in history. She had been interested in teaching from a very early age. After spending some time early in college in the business program, she decided to apply to the School of Education. Social studies was chosen as her major for two reasons—she enjoyed her history and political science classes, and she felt a broad-field social studies endorsement would be marketable. In her first interview, Pat made clear that she viewed herself more as a teacher, whose subject matter preparation just happens to be in social studies, than as a social studies teacher, whose interest in the teaching profession is fueled by her understanding of the unique role social studies plays in the school curriculum. When she thought about what might drive her practice as a social studies teacher, she pointed out that many students saw social studies as a boring subject. In response, her mission was “to be able to present the material very creatively and not so cut-and-dry... So they'll see the importance of government. They'll see the importance of history, not just because they have to take it, but that it affects them now” (interview, 9-10-1997).

Democratic citizenship education was a new idea to her in methods class. As far as she could recall, the other courses in the certification program did not broach the topic, and she had not thought of education in any similar terms. The introduction of the various conceptualizations of the idea in methods had little influence on her thinking, except to remind her of the importance of thinking about the foundation for instructional practice. Midway

through the methods semester, she noted, "The idea of democratic citizenship in education is something that I don't really think about that much. As I go into the classroom, it doesn't come to mind at all....I think it kind of is not in my definition, I guess, as a teacher" (interview, 11-6-1997). Similarly, at the end of the semester, she reflected on the idea of democratic citizenship with reference to readings by Engle and Ochoa (1988):

Well, I guess I was thinking one night when we read the pieces, the required pieces, it sounded good to me and made sense to me at the time. For some reason I can't ingrain it into my thinking process. I don't know what it is, you know even when we talk about it in class, well this is really, you know, something I might want to think about more. When I leave the classroom it's gone, like, I can't remember what we talked about... I just don't know what that is, democratic citizenship. (interview, 1-24-98).

Again, Pat's lack of understanding of a main thrust of the methods and student teaching semester does not indicate an absence of beliefs about teaching. On the contrary, Pat had a sense of what she hoped to accomplish as a teacher, predicated on making content interesting to students, leading students to feel comfortable in the classroom, and helping students "grow in character" (interview, 1-24-98). To her, these beliefs about effective practice meant implementing creative lesson plans and stressing critical thinking. Her curriculum-building attempts in both the methods and student teaching semesters reflected this vision of good teaching. In this sense, she positioned herself as something of a reform-oriented teacher, willing to stray from the traditional instructional style of her cooperating teacher. In her placement at a rural high school with a minority population numbering less than 2% of the student total, Pat designed an "international conference" simulation in which groups of students represented countries in an attempt to avert the start of World War II. She justified this activity as an attempt to infuse her curriculum with vitality, to keep class from "becoming boring." Clearly, in her efforts to break the mold of traditional practice, she was driven by a set of beliefs about good teaching. Yet, it was just as clear that these beliefs were not rooted in notions of democracy nor their relationship to the work of social studies teachers.

At the end of the semester, Pat felt she had learned a great deal about teaching, and she was excited about getting her own classroom. She ended the two semesters with a teaching

identity that was tied to social studies only in the sense that social studies was the curricular area that she would be licensed to teach. Her beliefs about her sense of purpose were general teaching aims, not necessarily connected to social studies. Democracy was nearly as foreign to her beliefs about teaching at the end of the semester as it was when she began methods. The one exception came in her realization that critical thinking was somehow related to the ideal of democratic citizenship. She explained, "I remember we talked about critical thinking a lot in methods. And I remember agreeing with it, thinking, Oh yeah, I want to be, my students to be critical thinkers. But I don't think I made the connection very well. Just recently, I'm like, Oh, OK, it's under democratic education" (interview, 4-27-1998). Seeing critical thinking as part of a democratic project in education was a conceptual link Pat made largely because of her participation in the research process. Though this conceptual link never became part of the driving set of beliefs that informed her practice, she ended the semester expressing some commitment to the importance of searching for the basis of her instructional decision-making. Like Lindsey, Pat felt that maybe she would return to notions of democratic education later in her career: "I feel like the second year will be a time for me to search for more as a teacher... I think that goal is too high for me right now" (interview, 4-27-1998).

Stacey

Stacey's case adds to the preponderance of evidence suggesting the social studies teacher education program at this institution did not foster any significant reflection about the relationship between schooling and a democratic society. When Stacey began the methods semester, she could not recall any prior encounters with ideas relating to democratic education. Nowhere in her teacher preparation program prior to methods had she ever been encouraged to put into words the reasons why she wanted to be a social studies teacher. She did not feel much like a teacher when she began the final year of her program and looked to methods to prepare her for student teaching and beyond. Her rationale for teaching was not tied to notions of democratic civic engagement. Rather, she had a general sense of what she hoped to accomplish. Like others in the study, Stacey explained, "I want to pique interest in history in my students so

that they go on and take it in college, even if it's so that it's just a general interest about it" (interview, 9-1-1997). She knew that students often found their history classes boring, a situation she was determined to change.

Stacey's introduction to rationale-building vis-à-vis an emphasis on democratic citizenship at first interested, then frustrated her. The emphasis on sorting out the meanings of democratic citizenship signaled to her that she ought to reflect on why she wants to be a teacher. Yet her larger concerns were more grounded in the practical concern of teaching. What should she do next semester when she student teaches? Like Pat, she felt there was some value in attempting to articulate the basis for your practice, but this was not her main interest. Beliefs about democratic education did not develop for her, and she struggled with simply conceptualizing the idea. She suggested, "I just think that I need to think more about democratic education, and thinking about it more, I will start relating the theory to the practice...it's still just kind of floating somewhere in my brain, and it hasn't stuck anywhere yet" (interview, 11-7-1997).

Importantly, methods was helping her develop beliefs about what she hoped to accomplish in her classroom, but these were formed independently of the idea of democratic citizenship education. For example, true to her aims expressed at the start of the semester, her lesson and unit plans for methods did reflect her desire to move away from drill-and-fill methods of instruction. Her use of group assignments, class discussions, literature, and creative writing assignments gave some indication of the type of non-traditional classroom she hoped to create. Yet such curriculum ideas were rooted in her desire to make history interesting, not in a principled sense of the democratic aims of the field. Stacey's sense of what she hoped to accomplish and this amorphous idea called democratic education were two different entities. Any overlap between them was a happy coincidence. She commented:

I never have yet sat down and said, "Democratic education, you know, or democratic citizenship, let's get it into my class and let's have a lesson that focuses on that"... I don't really even have a firm definition of these two terms. I think when you talk about meaningful teaching, and you talk about active student engagement, you talk about just piquing their interest and getting them involved, that's democratic education and that would be meaningful to me because I believe in those methods of teaching." (interview, 1-25-1998)

As Stacey moved into the student teaching semester, she was armed with some ideas about making history interesting and engaging for students. She also knew there was something called "democratic education" that was important to her methods professor and university supervisor and thus probably should be important to her as well. She was placed in a larger, suburban, middle and upper-middle class high school with a cooperating teacher who Stacey felt was of little help in developing her teaching skills. Stacey found her time there challenging, frustrating, and isolating. She struggled to create the kinds of lessons that would involve students in the ways she had hoped. In the end, she felt she gave up on her ideals. She said, "I was getting through Chapter 33, and Chapter 25, and the textbook.... It's terrible to say but I didn't really take the time to sit there for like an hour and go back and ask what I could have done different with lessons" (interview, 4-29-1998). She was disappointed in her performance. She continued, "Sometimes student teaching, I put on the back-burner. Not only like was democratic education and everything else kind of set aside, but student teaching in general."

As might be expected, there was little development in her thinking about a democratic basis for her teaching. The continual returning to rationales frustrated, more than helped, the process of her developing beliefs about teaching. She commented, "I haven't really had time to think in-depth about democratic education and where I place it in my list of priorities in teacher... My disinterest is not a result of me not wanting to be a teacher. Rather it stems from the fact that I am tired right now and I am a little sick of hearing about democracy and its place in education." (journal, 4-21-1998).

At the end of the semester, though her spirits were dampened, Stacey still described her beliefs about best practice as centered on engaging students, getting them to question, and challenging them to see how history relates to their lives. She understood that accomplishing these aims meant teaching in ways other than she taught this semester. Though reform-oriented, Stacey's beliefs were not grounded in a considered understanding of the purpose of

social studies, and she did not draw on notions of democratic education to shape her beliefs. While she suspected that her ideas might map well onto some idea of democratic education, she had considerable difficulty, as she put it, "connecting them."

DISCUSSION

Though the questions posed by this research are focused on the development of beliefs about teaching held by preservice teachers in the social studies, the findings reveal insights into concerns shared among the broader teacher education community. Democratic teacher education is an approach to the work of responsibly preparing teachers that takes seriously the charge of public education in a democratic society. The experiences of these five teachers are likely to resonate with the stories told by all teacher educators who have worked to help their students assume teaching roles rooted in a responsibility to support a more equitable and just social order. Martin, Grant, Lindsey, Pat, and Stacey were preparing for secondary social studies classrooms, but the challenge of democratic teacher education is posed to those preparing elementary, special education, math, science, and all other teachers as well. The particular claim of social studies to democratic citizenship education simply highlights a special obligation of teacher educators in social studies and its related disciplines. The issues raised by the findings of this study inform the work of all who accept the time-honored relationship between schooling and democracy. In this section, answers to the study's research questions are presented in a manner that links the findings of this research to several big-picture questions about teacher education, including the degree to which democratic teacher education is likely to be realized at the preservice level, what supports need to be in place to facilitate such efforts, and the role beliefs and attitudes play in shaping the professional practices of beginning teachers.

What is realistic?

How realistic is the expectation that teacher education programs can foster a mission of teaching for democratic citizenship? This vital question is the subject of much debate in the teacher education community. Can initial teacher preparation foster the kinds of critical

reflection called for by the democratic approach to practice described in this paper? A long-standing view in both the teacher education research and practice communities is that beginning teachers, especially those in their preservice and first few years of teaching, are not ready to make sense of the kinds of questions posed by rationale-building efforts steeped in moral and philosophical concerns (Calderhead, 1992; Rudduck, 1989; McIntyre, 1992). The survival-first argument (Fuller, 1971; Fuller & Brown, 1975) asserts that those first learning to teach are so overwhelmed by the many challenges of classroom teaching that asking them to consider questions about democracy, the moral dimensions of teaching, and relationships between schooling and broader social conditions is inappropriate. At the least, such questions will not be seriously entertained. Worse yet, they will frustrate the beginning teacher, with possible damaging long-term consequences. Another view is that a challenge to preservice teachers to consider the theoretical basis of teacher decision-making might succeed, but only if the challenge is raised under the right conditions. For example, Cochran-Smith (1991) argues for a "collaborative resonance" model, which suggests that beginning teachers learn to become reform-oriented teachers only by working with experienced teachers who themselves are reformers in their own schools.

The experiences of these five preservice teachers yield a mixed response to the question of what is realistic. For Martin and Grant, there was ample evidence to suggest that they were able to incorporate conceptions of democratic citizenship education into their personal theories of teaching. In Martin, the critical notions of democracy presented in methods took root, and were powerful in helping him interpret what he encountered in the classroom. Far from interfering with the practical tasks of survival, Martin found that his developing democratic mission helped him to understand and strategize his daily challenges. If he did not call on his rationale to make sense of every problem he experienced in the classroom, democratic education was an ideal that sustained him during student teaching. For Grant too, conceptions of democratic citizenship found an important place in his thinking about his developing

identity as a social studies teacher. The idea of a rationale made sense, and he struggled to construct his own even amidst the challenges.

From the experiences of Lindsey, Pat, and Stacey, a less optimistic answer to what is possible emerges. In Lindsey's case, a difficult adjustment to a high school so unlike her own meant that questions of democracy had little appeal, even despite my efforts to convince her that her difficult adjustment had a great deal to do with such questions. For Pat and Stacey, the practical demands associated with assuming the teaching role made reflection on their rationales for social studies seem unimportant. Of course, in each case, the picture is more complicated than merely a question of survival. The preconceptions beginning teachers hold also influence their receptivity to change, theoretical or otherwise (Wubbels, 1993). The data are clear in revealing that the democracy-based social studies argument presented in the methods class did not find fertile ground in the language they used to think about teaching. Simply put, the democratic ideal was not appealing in part because of its unfamiliarity and lack of immediate fit with their prior beliefs. There is little surprise, then, that they would not turn to the ideal as they struggled to make sense of their student teaching experiences.

Not surprisingly, the results of this inquiry suggest that the potential of democratic teacher education is variable and complex. This finding is consistent with what other researchers have found regarding the overall impact of programs of preservice teacher education programs on the beliefs of beginning teachers (Zeichner and Gore, 1990; Calderhead; 1991; Bramald et al.; 1995). Initial teacher development is a dialogical, reflexive, and fluctuating process in which beginning teachers mediate the impact of socializing institutions, such as universities and schools, on their mental landscapes of meaning about teaching and learning. Thus efforts to establish what is possible in democratic teacher education must tend to the particular internal belief systems that preservice students bring with them to teacher preparation programs, as well as the numerous external factors that shape a given teacher education setting (Borko and Mayfield, 1995). In this sense then, the question of what is realistic loses its meaning in the abstract, and can only be answered within the context of particular situations.

At the very least in this study, the methods and student teaching semesters seemed to influence these beginning teachers in one important way—they built upon, or developed, a reform orientation in all five preservice students. Each demonstrated a commitment to a view of teaching that placed students at the center of meaningful inquiry and active participation in the learning process. All of the study participants understood that this commitment positioned them as reformers vis-à-vis predominant social studies classroom practices. If they themselves failed to always follow through on this commitment in their practices as student teachers, they still maintained some allegiance at the end to the idea that they wanted their students to take an active and interested role in their class activities. This finding relates to the question of what is realistic in that it may signal a rich opportunity to connect with rationale-building efforts. The appeal of active student engagement for beginning teachers could be channeled toward deeper inquiry into the principled basis of a discipline's inclusion in the school curriculum, and by extension, of teachers' views of what they are teaching *for*. The challenge of democratic teacher education then is to meaningfully direct this reform impulse. Doing so may be less a question of what is realistic and more a question of appropriate supports.

The question of supports

For all their differences in mindset, philosophy, and success in the classroom, these five beginning teachers demonstrated numerous commonalities. Each appreciated the university's emphasis on innovative approaches to teaching, but each felt that the program coursework was poorly coordinated, even incoherent, and that social studies teaching for democratic citizenship was never introduced before their methods class. Just as each advocated reform-minded pedagogical techniques, a "different kind of teaching" than they had experienced as high school students, each found little support for such innovation from their cooperating teachers. Clearly, their experiences with the teacher education program and their field placements were characterized by inadequate supports to build on the views of best practice they acquired through the program or elsewhere, and to direct these inclinations toward rationales for practice rooted in conceptions of democratic citizenship education. The unanswerable question

in this research is how all five preservice teachers might have developed their understanding of democratic education had different supports been in place.

Recent research into the manner in which initial teacher education programs change preservice students' beliefs has drawn attention to the value of coherent programs of teacher education that sustain emphases on common themes across semesters (Zeichner and Gore, 1990). Such a focus was absent for the five preservice students on the matters of education for democracy and the importance of developing a sense of mission that takes into account the discipline one is preparing to teach. None of the five reported any acknowledgement, let alone emphasis, of democratic citizenship anywhere else in the program. Nor were they ever asked to seriously consider why they were preparing to become *social studies* teachers, instead of teachers in general. When they were first exposed to the idea of democratic citizenship as a rationale for social studies, it was brand new to all of them. For Martin, this meant an articulation, refinement, and drawing together of beliefs already strongly held. For Grant, this meant rethinking his beliefs about the very meaning of democracy and what these changes meant for his evolving sense of his work as a social studies teacher. For Stacey, Pat, and Lindsey, the emphasis in Methods on democratic citizenship meant another idea to carry, possibly a useful one, but at any rate an additional intellectual load to bear. For each of these three, to varying degrees, this late introduction was a source of frustration. Had the concept been introduced and examined in earlier coursework, they may have felt better prepared to pursue it in their field experiences. In effect, their explicit teacher education curriculum in democratic citizenship and rationale-building was represented by a unilateral effort by a lone teacher educator in the methods and student teaching semester. What evidence of success was found across the five cases speaks to the efficacy of the work of individual teacher educators, but it also draws attention to the greater possibilities of concerted action in teacher education.

Concerted action, of course, extends beyond the university-based program and into field experiences. For example, the role of the cooperating teachers in influencing the beliefs and practices of student teachers is generally thought to be powerful, if not altogether clear (Feiman-

Nemser and Buchman, 1987; Joyce, 1988; Su, 1992). All five student teachers did attempt to bring innovative teaching practices into their classrooms, and all five faced varying degrees of challenge convincing cooperating teachers that these approaches might be worthwhile. After much campaigning, Lindsey's cooperating teacher, for example, finally allowed her to employ a cooperative learning lesson plan. I came out to observe the class that day. Early in the observation, as the students tried to adjust to this relatively novel activity, the cooperating teacher leaned against the chalkboard, shook her head sadly, and confided to me, *sotto voce*, "I warned her. I told her this wouldn't work for these kids. They just can't handle working in groups." There had hardly been time for the lesson to learn how to swim, and already it was written off as drowned.

Such experiences were all too common for four of these five student teachers, though the type of support from cooperating teachers was less than uniform. Some lessons considered unorthodox by veteran teachers were met with encouragement. Significantly though, none of the cooperating teachers offered any substantive encouragement of the student teachers' development of mission and beliefs about the role of education in fostering democratic citizenship. Martin testified that his cooperating teacher appreciated his discussions of mission, but had little to offer him with regard to the refinement of his beliefs, let alone their realization in the classroom. None had discussions with their cooperating teachers about the purposes of social studies. Pat and Stacey had difficulty even inferring what their cooperating teachers' rationales for the field might be. It is reasonable to believe that all might have thought about democratic citizenship education under cooperating teachers who openly reflected on their own developing rationales for practice.

This same point was not lost on Cochran-Smith (1991), who argued that beginning teachers learn to critically reflect on their teaching only in the company of experienced teachers who themselves practice critical reflection. Yet the professional lives of teachers are not structured in such a way as to encourage reflection and the development of beliefs about teaching (Lortie, 1975; Goodlad, 1984; Cuban, 1993). As well, there are few incentives in place

for cooperating teachers to invest their limited time toward the work of mentoring (Zeichner1996). Therefore, cooperating teachers who are disposed and willing to assume the role of a collaborative blah blah are hard to find. Greater collaboration between teacher education program and the schools in which its preservice teachers are placed may create a more common language, but such collaboration is difficult to arrange. Furthermore, while each of the five study participants suggested that they planned to return to issues of democratic education as their careers progressed, the reality is that they are likely to find relatively little opportunity to do so, unless they are absolutely determined to carve out time for such ruminations and discussions. Inservice programs could help to create time and impetus for reflection, though few such programs are in place at this time.

Furthermore, matching preservice teachers to appropriate school settings is a support issue that complicates the extent to which a field experience may bring about changes in their beliefs and practices. One student teacher in the study, Lindsey, found the pressures of working in an urban, working-class schools to be overwhelming. She testified repeatedly that simply keeping her students in line was challenge enough, and that they were unlikely to get to a point where they could engage in broader questions about democracy and values. Interestingly, other students in so-called difficult schools did not share this perspective. Both Martin and Grant found that teaching in lower-income schools fostered, rather than hindered, their examinations of democratic citizenship in class, and, perhaps not coincidentally, both were ultimately hired at schools with multi-racial, mixed-income student demographics. Clearly, they were not cowed by the challenges of teaching for democratic citizenship in such an environment. As with the question of what is realistic, the placement of student teachers in educative field placements appear to be complex and context-bound.

Beliefs about teaching

This study proceeded under the assumption that beliefs about teaching influence teaching practices. Few would dispute this claim, stated as such. Of course, the far more difficult issues concern the extent to which beliefs influence practice and what else, besides

beliefs, influences practice. In simple terms, the idea behind both semesters was that a change in beliefs comprising the rationales held by these five beginning teachers would lead to more effective practice. The challenge to consider "advanced ideas" (Parker, 1996b) about democratic citizenship education was meant to cause an assessment of what they believed social studies was supposed to accomplish. Once all five had begun to work out a sense of purpose around this ideal, then they would be positioned to make more sophisticated decisions about what and how to teach. This linear model separates beliefs from action and sets them apart. While such a separation is helpful for purposes of analysis and research, it misrepresents the widely believed interactive relationship between beliefs and actions (Richardson, 1996). The methodology of this study tried to account for the interaction between beliefs and actions by collecting data across multiple sites representing both thought and practice. As difficult as it is to accurately capture this relationship, the experiences of the five study participants highlight the complexity of separating belief from action, and raise questions about how teacher educators conceptualize the nature of their own practice.

Again, the growing recognition in educational research of the simple proposition—context counts—extends to this research. To different degrees, the introduction of democratic educational theory in methods worked as intended for Martin and Grant, even though their student teaching placements were less than supportive of any rationale building efforts, let alone of the democratic citizenship rationale emphasis occasioned at the university. On the other hand, the context of Lindsey's field placement clearly discouraged her from developing her beliefs around the democratic ideal. For Pat and Stacey, democratic citizenship remained an interesting, if not altogether pressing, sideline concern as they proceeded through the student teaching semester. What then can be said about the effort to influence beliefs in these contexts? Which factor, beliefs or context, was more influential in shaping practice? Here too, as with beliefs and practice, separating beliefs from context may make more sense for purposes of analysis than it does for purposes of representing reality.

Yet the question is worth pursuing, for what is at stake is the manner in which teacher educators design the experiences of their programs. If indeed context is more influential in changing practice than are beliefs, how would that change the design, content, and processes of teacher education? The predominant structure of teacher education seeks to establish in preservice students the right beliefs about teaching and learning in university settings (perhaps with some field experiences included) before they enter student teaching and their initial years as inservice teaching (Lucas, 1997). Perhaps this model is misguided. The need to rethink this model is clear in the case of Lindsey, Pat, and Stacey. Even for Martin and Grant, for whom this traditional approach seemed to succeed, the question remains of the extent to which they might have even more deeply internalized democratic citizenship under a method that reflected the interactive relationships among beliefs, context, and practice.

For example, a more comprehensive view that refuses to view beliefs in isolation might cause teacher educators to rethink attempts to help preservice social studies teachers develop their rationales for the field. When is the appropriate time to focus on rationale-building? As Marker and Mehlinger (1992) point out, the attention paid to social studies rationales by university-based teacher educators is difficult to explain:

There is little evidence that classroom teachers use such statements; for them a curricular rationale seems to be something you employ after you have decided what you want to teach—if you articulate one at all. But for college professors the justification for social studies is of highest priority. They believe that one cannot possibly know what to teach before deciding why to teach it. Until the rationale is clear, it is pointless to proceed. (p. 832)

On the one hand, unfortunately there is little in the structure or culture of most schools to suggest that inservice teachers will be encouraged to pursue the *why* of what they are teaching. So preservice training represents a window of opportunity that is not open long. On the other hand, perhaps teacher educators have exaggerated the value of an articulated rationale at this early point in a teacher's development.

Finally, this research raises pressing methodological concerns of interest to both the teacher education research and teacher education practice communities. To claim that

democratic citizenship became a rich concept in the personal theories of teaching held by some study participants and not others is to suggest that this program of initial teacher education met with some measure of success and failure. For Martin, for example, the program seemed to have worked. Yet success and failure in teacher education is difficult to determine, for reasons that go beyond the normative debate over the proper aims of teacher education. How do teacher educators know that their efforts are leading to meaningful change in the beliefs of their students? Did the teacher education program fail because Pat and Stacey found the idea of democracy tangential to their experiences as student teachers? This research gives us insight into what happened in the two semesters under study. How do we know anything of what democratic citizenship will mean for these teachers through their inservice years? Longitudinal research designs may yield knowledge about such questions, but even then, any connections of influence drawn back to the preservice years are difficult to establish. If preservice students have difficulty *articulating* a coherent system of beliefs constituting a rationale for practice, does that mean teacher education has failed to develop such meanings in their personal theories of teaching? And what

CONCLUSION

This study examined how preservice students developed their understandings of teaching as a form of democratic citizenship education. Education for democracy has special significance to that part of the modern school curriculum known as social studies, but the idea also has had long-standing appeal to the broader educational community. If teachers are to advance this aim in their professional lives, then teacher education, especially at the preservice level, has an important role to play. Should beginning teachers leave their initial programs of teacher preparation without some sense that their work is connected to an obligation to advance a more democratic society, it is unlikely that they will find the impetus to explore democracy as an aim of teaching in subsequent school settings. The five beginning teachers followed in this study were challenged to think about what it means to approach the field of social studies as a form of democratic citizenship. They responded to this challenge in variable ways. Though

several seemed to find the ideal of democracy tangential to the work of developing their teaching practices, two study participants provided a different story. For these two, democracy became a powerful component of their personal theories of teaching, despite their experiences with less than supportive field placements and a teacher education program characterized by little sustained emphasis on democracy as a basis for their rationale-building efforts. The experiences of all five suggest that beginning teachers are capable of internalizing conceptions of democratic citizenship at this early point in their career development path. Yet their experiences also draw attention to the complexity of teacher education efforts to influence the beliefs and conceptions new teachers bring to the profession.

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